

# In fact

For The Millions Who Want a Free Press

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## Bulletin

CHICAGO—The Catholic press (7,000,000 circulation, speaking for 21,000,000 Americans) is agreed "that there is no present emergency which demands abandonment in peacetime of the traditional American policy of volunteer service." The New World, official organ Chicago archdiocese, reports, quoting Catholic papers against the Burke bill.

## Public Betrayed on Conscription

The amazing spectacle of the press betraying the American people, common in the past, is now being repeated, with millions of witnesses.

A great tide of protest against peacetime conscription has arisen throughout the country, but the press, which sponsored the Burke-Wadsworth bill, falsified the story and attempted to rush the measure through Congress before a still free unregimented people could make itself heard.

Up to a month or two ago peacetime conscription was branded Fascism in the American press. Liberals, labor leaders, most Congressmen, leading citizens, recognized the Hitler-Mussolini state by its main deeds: enforced labor, denial of civil liberties, abolition of unions, and peacetime conscription.

Today labor is united against the Burke-Wadsworth bill, the American press is united for it.

IN FACT's Washington correspondent writes that senators pushing conscription know it means a Fascist state in America, but they hope it will be "only temporary."

## The Secret in Conscription

The underlying reason for the administration's endorsement of the draft has never been revealed by the press or even its enemies. Yet, behind the opposition's rightful claim that conscription means fascization of America, are definite economic and political ends which both Democrats and Republicans hope to achieve through the bill which will make an army of 12,000,000 men possible.

Opponents have said in Congress the draft directly prepares American military intervention in Europe's war. It goes further. IN FACT is informed that the draft has a two-fold purpose:

1. It encourages the British to continue the fight against Germany.

2. It makes possible U. S. seizure of the disintegrating British Empire, if Germany defeats England.

The United States now considers itself the heir to the British Empire. The great commercial powers, Big Business, have no desire to see Germany grab what they now consider their inheritance. If Britain keeps up the fight, both sides will soon be exhausted. Then a prepared (i.e., conscripted, disciplined, regimented, fascized) America will step in at the right moment and win the war for itself at the expense of both England and Germany.

## Conscription and Latin America

IN FACT also learns that conscription is designed to offset the indecisive Havana Conference. Concessions were made there to the U. S., but in the form of promises that still must be implemented. If these promises are to be enforced and new concessions extracted, the U. S. must be prepared to intervene with arms. Hence conscription. Hence the fight to legalize sending the National Guard outside American boundaries.

Again the proposal is made to provoke Mexico so that an expeditionary force can be sent, a dress rehearsal for a big war, just as was done in 1914. The oil companies are anxious for this war.

To win the coming election, President Roosevelt has decided that he must convince his former Wall Street enemies he can now be "trusted." Conscription is the most serious blow to labor, to the unions, yet devised. Conscription will be penance for the wages and hours, labor relations, other laws of a social nature. The president hopes his old liberal position will overcome CIO, AFofL, Railroad Brotherhood, church opposition.

## Admit Conscription Is Fascism

IN FACT's Washington correspondent writes that senators who know conscription means a totalitarian set-up defend themselves saying "Of course it's

## Thurman Arnold vs. FDR

THURMAN Arnold has been the greatest disappointment to labor and liberals. He was supposed to prepare the government's cases against monopolies, bust the trusts, fight the corporations, restore the country to the people. Instead of this he has been using the Clayton and Sherman Acts, designed against predatory business, to smash trades unions.

The mystery of Mr. Arnold's behavior is now explained to IN FACT by one of his friends who says, Mr. Arnold has not deliberately betrayed the public. He has been forced to devote his office to labor-busting instead of trust-busting on orders of his boss, President Roosevelt.

Mr. Arnold is very bitter against FDR. But he has not said anything publicly because he has hoped he could bring FDR back to the liberal fold. When Arnold speaks, it will be in the form of his resignation. Expected within fortnight.

## Or Else—

FROM Colorado Springs, just as Wendell Willkie left for Elwood, Ind., IN FACT's correspondent notified us of the rumor taken for fact by Republican supporters. Writes our reporter:

"After Willkie has made his acceptance speech, expect a blast from him in the near future against the Democratic Kelly-Nash machine in Chicago, the Hague machine in Jersey City. This is the repeated rumor that seems to have real weight out in these parts. Willkie as you know has already taken a crack at the machines. But the real news will come when he will tie up the administration, the machines, and Moe Annenberg. The latter gentleman is now in jail for failing to pay a tax on his very considerable earnings. The story is that Willkie will accuse Annenberg of splitting the income with the Kelly and Hague machines. Willkie will probably reveal that Annenberg agreed to take the rap for the machines and to keep mum, in return for a pardon immediately after the election. Now Annenberg is worried. He says the administration had better come through with the pardon—or else!"

## Sen. Burke, Hitlerite

THERE is no law requiring a Red-baiter to be a Hitlerite and a spokesman of Big Business, but in Senator Burke, author of the peacetime compulsory service bill, these three facts are combined.

The day Chamberlain made the shameful Munich peace, Burke arriving in New York from Europe, "praised without stint the accomplishments of the Nazi regime in Germany. He saw Adolf Hitler as even 'a greater man than Bismark' and declared that the annexation of the Sudeten German territory by the Reich was justified. . . . Beaming enthusiasm for conditions as he found them in Germany. . . . Senator Burke would not

dictatorship, but it's only temporary." Our correspondent quotes Senator Wheeler saying he received the same reply from colleagues and other leaders. Wheeler said governments once securing extraordinary powers seldom give them up. Other Congressmen feel the draft is fascist but declare: "The chief of staff tells us that we will be invaded any day and we don't dare take the responsibility for voting against the measure. . . ."

## No Knowledge of Emergency

Our Washington correspondent continues: "Before the House Military Affairs Committee, Stimson, pressed by Clason of Mass. and Anderson of Mo. admitted he had for 20 years favored a military draft in peacetime.

"And now you are using a built-up emergency to put it over," said Anderson.

"Ye . . .," replied Stimson, not finishing the word, and changed the subject.

"Stimson told the committee several times all he knew officially about the 'emergency' is what he reads in the papers. Stimson insisted that the President and secretary of war have no additional inside information about any emergency.

## Press Perverted Public Sentiment

"During all hearings newspapermen followed up and interviewed those favoring the bill, gave only a few lines to men like Fosdick and Charles Boos, representing 8,000,000 Methodists. I do not know whether this was on order, but know I had letters from the Middle West, people writing that from what the newspapers printed they felt they were alone in opposition. This viewpoint was deliberately encouraged by the press. Papers gave no significance to opposition. Almost every senator and representative had mail averaging 100 to 1 against conscription, but the press never reflected this. I read many letters, obviously spontaneous, from people deeply concerned.

"Both press and radio have consistently created the impression the opposition was either crackpot pacifist or paid agents of Hitler. Interviews with newspaper readers show they did not know that thousands, representatives of millions, have actually protested the bill. Their source of information is the press and radio, from which they gathered that all patriotic citizens were demanding instant legislation.

"Senator Van Nuys told a friend the whole conscription hysteria was manufactured to help the administration through the election."

## What Is It All About?

The \$10,000,000,000 war budget and plan to draft 42,000,000 men are based on the proposition that there is an emergency, that the United States is soon to go to war. The press is almost unanimous on that. But, "What are we preparing for?" asks the Aug. 3. Kiplinger Washington Letter, and replies: "The answer is not very clear, even in the minds of officials." They mention the Caribbean, Latin America, Iceland, Greenland, the Orient, England, all of which are "perhaps"—except England, where the likelihood is stressed.

"Is Congress informed," asks Kiplinger; "does the President know something which he cannot tell?" The answer is No. Congress knows of no emergency, and the President "knows nothing which is deep, dark, mysterious, or so secret that it might not be told, as regards the prospects for attack on American territory or interests. . . Impressions that such secrets exist are cultivated these days by certain writers. . . ."

## Who Intrigued for the Draft?

Senator Holt accuses officers of the Military Training Camps Ass'n, including Col. Adler, part owner of the N. Y. Times, of organizing the conscription drive for the purpose of regimenting not only American youth but the American minds and people. (This is fascism. Senator Burke calls it "discipline"; Mussolini calls it "disciplina." The difference is one letter.)

The original draft meeting, May 22, was attended by bankers, brokers, Wall Street lawyers, a Japanese agent: Granville Clark, Elihu Root, Jr., corporation lawyers; Lewis Douglas of Mutual Life; General John F. O'Ryan, former police commissioner of New York, who treated labor brutally and now represents Japan; K. P. Budd, British insurance representative; General Crowell, bank president; F. M. Weld of Baldwins, which just got the big tank order.

## Big Money versus Common People

"We find," said Senator Holt, "directors of iron ore mines and iron furnaces, directors of oil companies, directors of British insurance companies, of the Baldwin Locomotive company. . . . Conscription did not come from the Railroad Brotherhoods, the CIO, the AF of L, the Grange, or the poor people. It came from those individuals who have interests to protect in this war and if necessary they will sacrifice American boys on the battlefield of any continent."

Holt accused the Times of wanting to conscript boys, but not wealth. He said "When you start talking about drafting wealth, that is regimentation and communism, but when you talk of taking boys, taking them away to possible death, that is not regimentation to them, that is democracy. Such papers as the N. Y.

compare working conditions for general laborers in Germany with those of the United States, explaining that trade unions had been abolished in the Reich." Burke never denied this press interview. He was endorsing Hitler, who had abolished trade unions.

Burke also endorsed a system which instituted enforced labor and peacetime conscription. Naturally he attacked the Wagner Act in Congress, became the spokesman of the National Association of Manufacturers, most of whom are for Hitler and Mussolini in principle. "Throttlebottom Burke" was accused by Kenneth Crawford of "circularizing employers and their associations with NAM propaganda for amendment of the Wagner Act," using his franking privilege for propaganda purposes.

Spokesman for Big Business, Burke shouted over the radio he was receiving hundreds of complaints against the Labor Relations Board. Chairman Madden challenged him to produce one case, and after waiting six months called Burke's charges "unfounded in fact." Burke was merely employing the Hitler suggestion of using the utmost in falsehood.

## Burke, Khaki Shirter

FROM 1932 to 1934 Senator Burke was a paid-up member of the fascist Khaki Shirts of America, writes Terry Pettus in the Washington New-Dealer; for at least three months Burke, then a Representative, was the angel of the most violent Nazi shirt outfit in the country, paying the rent of the Omaha offices.

Documents in the case were supplied by Lloyd H. Brown, legionnaire, and former Khaki Shirt organizer. Brown resigned when he saw the letters from Dr. Goebbels giving the Khaki Shirts their instructions. The Burke application blank and duplicate membership card were pictured in the Pettus exposé.

In 1933 the Khaki Shirts changed their name to American Nationalists and planned a march on Washington in October, but the raid fizzled and Art J. Smith, commander, was imprisoned for perjury. His assistant, F. Moffer, pleaded guilty to manslaughter, the victim being Anthony Fierro, an Italian anti-Fascist.

Organizer Brown told Pettus Gen. Van Horn Moseley played a leading role in organizing these Fascists.

## Gov't To Take Action

THE Government is ready to take action in the case of several super-patriotic merchants of death who have been selling munitions (and their country) to the nations against which the United States is arming in preparation of war.

Not only airplanes, powder, and military secrets have been betrayed to Hitler and Mussolini but it is likely that the famed American bomb sight which has revolutionized aerial warfare, has also been sold the enemy.

## Automatic Pilot Sold Hitler

SENATOR Nye, while conducting the famous munitions inquiry, which revealed incidentally that the banking houses led by Morgan dragged the United States into the war to save the country from a financial panic and not for democracy, made the following statement:

"The committee is advised—and that will be later developed, as to its truth—that the Sperry Gyroscope Co. has been delivering automatic pilots and gyrocompasses and other instruments, sufficient to equip at least 50 planes in Germany a month."



(Note: Exposure of DuPont, etc., in forthcoming issues.)

## Press Smears Hollywooders

WHEN it comes to smearing, nothing can beat the press. But the most unforgivable smearer is the New York Times. Readers who think IN FACT is particularly hard on this, the most powerful newspaper in America, please consider the facts:

1. The Times published the story first Aug. 6 saying that Lionel Stander, Clifford Odets, Herbert Biberman, Gale Sondergaard, Samuel Ornitz, Mrs. Sadie Ornitz, have been subpoenaed "to explain their connection with the Communist Party . . ." Heading: "Murders by Reds Charged on Coast." Stander informs IN FACT the story was untrue; no one had been subpoenaed, it was merely talk; and the connection with a murder was libelous.

## Typical Hearst Smear

THE story was a typical smear; it was concocted by Hearst's Herald Express in cahoots with Fitts, running for district attorney. Hearst can now afford to smear Hollywood stars since he is no longer financially interested in boosting the producing company employing his protégé Marion Davies.

Sulzberger's Times out-Hearsted Hearst when it printed the same story again Aug. 7. Headline: "Says Reds Sought Hollywood Cash." Story said subpoenas issued for Herbert Biberman, Gale Sondergaard, Lionel Stander "and two score others."

This story named John L. Leech as making the accusation. It did not state that Dean Landis of Harvard, investigating Harry Bridges, exposed Leech as a crook, forger, and "pathological liar."

Finally, after publishing the same story twice, the Times Aug. 15 played it Page 1, Col. 1; headline: "Hollywood Stars Accused as Reds Before Grand Jury." And right in the lead appear the names of Lionel Stander, Clifford Odets, Sam Ornitz, Herbert Biberman.

Any newspaper worker will tell you this was smearing, not publishing news fit to print.

## Pulitzer Hypocrisy Prize

ON Page 22 the Times publishes denials by Frederic March, James Cagney, Humphrey Bogart, Ornitz, Francis Lederer and Jean Muir. The papers of the previous evening had already published the fact that Stander threatened to sue Attorney Fitts for criminal libel and had obtained a statement absolving him of any criminal charge. PM had already published a fair story saying it was the testimony of "pathological liar" Leech.

Apparently the Times front-page stank in high places. Aug. 16 the Times published an editorial which is here recommended for the Pulitzer Prize for Journalistic Hypocrisy.

Now the Times admitted Leech had been "discredited in strong terms" by Landis, and adds, "All these circumstances considered, it is hard to understand why the Leech testimony was ever made public. Being made public, it became news of national interest which had to be printed."

We leave it to fellow newspapermen to say whether a story twice printed had to be smeared on Page 1 a third time with the "pathological liar" evidence suppressed.

The Times concludes that "what is sinister" is giving "irresponsible witnesses a chance to smear reputations." The

Times, controlled by Mr. Adler, who has been howling regimentation, never say a word in behalf of anything to which they are opposed. . . . But so long as Americanism is present in Congress there will be opposition to this alien doctrine of conscription, which . . . was incubated in the banks and law firms of N. Y. City on Wall Street." Sen. Holt might have added that without the press the idea would have got nowhere.

## Technique of Deception

The press, it has been contended, is the only exception to Lincoln's rule that you can't fool all the people all the time. So far in American history it has fairly well succeeded. The history of the present fascist frame-up is highlighted by the following events:

May 18. Kiplinger Letter said "In the event of war, a virtual dictatorship, of course." . . . (Aid to the Allies) must await development of war abroad, and of public opinion here."

May 22. Colonel Adler of the Times and other fascist-minded gentry meet at Harvard Club to organize conscription.

May 29. Times headline reads, WAR SENTIMENT SEEN RISING IN U. S. over Gallup poll story showing 93% against war, compared to a maximum of 96.5% in December and 94% when war started.

June 7. New York Times editorial said: "The time has come when in the interest of self-protection the American people should at once adopt a national system of universal compulsory training." Roosevelt okayed idea that afternoon.

June 8. Col. Adler, addressing Princetonians, said a bill would be presented "within the next ten days."

June 9. New Bedford, Mass., Standard Times, owned by Basil Brewer, also owner of the Mercury and the radio station, enemy of CIO, approving draft, wrote: "Nullify pressure groups, labor and business . . . sacrifice the democratic process as little as possible but as much as needed."

June 15. Editor & Publisher, headline: POLL SHOWS U. S. EDITORS FAVOR UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING. Story said: "A wave of sentiment favoring military training . . . swept the country . . . after various newspapers advocated this radical departure from the American way of life as the most urgent step toward national preparedness. . . . The W. R. Hearst newspapers June 8 started a poll of Congress . . . stressing the suggestion made by Mr. Hearst (May 15) that this country adopt military training in the schools . . ."

June 19. Col. Adler told National Editorial Association convention to "wire editorials home in support of the bill."

## Newspaper Hysteria Begins

Hearst claims he was first for conscription. Other papers disputing the Times' claim or among the first to follow, are: Chicago Tribune, Milwaukee Journal, Richmond News Leader, Hoboken Jersey Observer, Harrisburg Telegraph, Dallas News.

Felix Morley, Washington Post, favored considering the matter; Julian Harris, editor of the Sulzberger-Adler Chattanooga Times, echoed his master's voice; the Cleveland News editorialized favorably; Sevellon Brown, editor, Providence Journal, said the President was accepting public opinion when he advocated the draft; Arthur J. Sinnott, editor, Newark News, liked it, stressed "physical culture and the teaching of trades and crafts which will benefit the young man in later life."

Among the editors who went further and signed a demand for an immediate declaration of war, were: Herbert Agar, Louisville Courier-Journal; William Hessler, Cincinnati Enquirer; George Fort Milton, Chattanooga Tribune; Frank R. Kent, commentator, Baltimore Sun.

Not one of these editors and newspapers presented an honest news story of the rising tide of protest which followed.

## How They Lied to Mrs. Roosevelt

July 20 Editor & Publisher reported the Military Training Camps Ass'n. reported 87% of the nation's press endorsing the Burke bill. On August 4 the organization claimed a study of 500 papers showed: Favorable, 90.5%; Midwest papers favorable 87.5%.

Meanwhile American Youth Congress leaders heard a rumor that the war department, having taken conscription for granted, had already printed millions of conscription blanks. In their presence their patroness, Mrs. Roosevelt, called up leaders of Congress and the public printer, all of whom denied. But on July 24 Chief of Staff Gen. Marshall gave the House Military Affairs Committee printed registration blanks and questionnaires for conscripts.

## Press Betrays the Public

In July Senator Norris protested; John L. Lewis made the first of his almost daily protests, pledging 4,000,000 men against conscription; Cincinnati SWOC protested; Farmers Union protested; Seattle labor protested; Minneapolis AF of L, Baltimore unions, the Philadelphia Peace Conference, went on record.

In August William Green, the American Federation of Labor, the Railroad Brotherhoods, some 9,000,000 men united in denouncing conscription as fascist, un-American, anti-democratic.

Three hundred writers protested. The Chicago and other Newspaper Guilds protested.

The National Catholic Welfare Conference came out against conscription. The Protestant Episcopal "Witness" came out. Meetings attended by ten or twenty thousand persons protested.

The press betrayed them all by suppressing the news entirely, or burying a paragraph.

## Suppression

In the editions which reach the New York Public Library we find:

Cleveland Press suppressed Railroad Brotherhood story.

Milwaukee Journal suppressed this story, also its own Wisconsin AF of L protest August 4.

New York Post suppressed Brotherhoods, also the Rev. Dr. Fosdick's testimony and Senator Norris's protest July 26. The CIO action, July 30, the turning point, got a paragraph in another story.

The World-Telegram suppressed Green (Aug. 6) and Lewis (July 30).

Suppression, burial, distortion and faking were the order of the day in the American press. Roy Howard's World-Telegram, which has abandoned the Scripps code of ethics, joined the totalitarian movement with the same fervor it once fought Fascism. August 9 it said some arguments against peacetime conscription "have the earmarks of a non-American party line." Up to 1940 peacetime conscription had been the Fascist line in the Scripps-Howard press.

Worse than suppression is burial. The Times buried on page 28 the United Auto Workers convention resolution against Adler's plan; August 4, 20,000 persons at Randalls Island applauded Rep. Marcantonio, CIO leader Quill, Rev. Owen Knox of Detroit, Morris Watson of the Newspaper Guild, John P. Davis representing the National Negro Congress, Rabbi Miller, Jean Horie of the Youth Congress, Van Arsdale of the Electric Workers, who asked for bread and jobs, denounced Fascism, Hitlerism, "compulsory military training, Great Britain and Wall Street." The Times slashed the news to 4 inches, the World-Telegram to 3; the Times the same day gave its own Adler a column.

## Propaganda Technique

The American press, which ridicules Dr. Goebbels and Mussolini propaganda methods, is itself guilty of employing most of the 7 technical tricks exposed by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis. For example:

1. Name Calling. Opponents to a fascistic method were branded Fascists, Hitlerites, Reds, slackers, etc.

2. Band Wagon. "The newspaper headlines" says Porter Sargent's Bulletin 72, "have promoted the belief that it was all over, that the conscription bill had 'passed' (Boston Herald—July 25).

N. Y. Post, Aug. 10: PASSAGE OF DRAFT BILL SURE . . . BARKLEY.

World-Telegram: FIGHT FOR DRAFT ALREADY WON, SAYS BARKLEY.

3. Glittering Generality, Card Stacking, etc. Just as the press defeated the Child Labor Amendment by branding it "youth control," and fought Roosevelt's "tax the rich" idea by labeling it "soak the rich," so now it called fascistic peacetime conscription "selective training" and "the democratic method."

## Some REAL News!



Here's news you'll be glad to hear. No, not some "inside news," just cold hard (but welcome) figures that at times speak louder than words. IN FACT has 50,000 subscribers. That's a lot of subscriptions in anyone's language. And they're still coming in so fast that our goal of 100,000 subscriptions is almost assured. But "almost" is mighty flighty. We would rather be more definite. That's where you come in. If you've only been an IN FACT reader, now is the time to graduate, and to become a volunteer subscription "getter" as so many of our readers already are. Just a little talking to your friends will do the trick. Get them to take advantage of the special introductory offer of 22 issues for 25c.

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smearing was done not by politician Fitts or Path. Liar Leech; it was done by the only means of smearing, by the press, and notably by the paper which claims it is the best in America.

## Administration Sabotage

THE Baltimore & Ohio Railroad offered a round-trip to the Chicago Peace Conference, huge mobilization of peace forces in the Chicago stadium Aug. 31 to Sept. 2. The price of \$17 was a reduction from the regular fare. It has always been the custom of railroads to offer special low rates to conventions, conferences, etc., when a sufficient number of people were expected. In the case of the Chicago Peace Conference, in all likelihood the delegates would overflow one train, need several.

But the B & O suddenly cancelled its special rate. Investigation revealed that the company did so because of pressure by the administration, definitely not interested in peace conferences.

## Lynchings Not in the News

ASIDE from the three lynchings already recorded this year, three new lynchings, as yet not officially confirmed, have been reported to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Edward S. Cook was rumored killed by three white men at Tutwiley, Miss., March 20. A newspaper reporter of the "Sepia Socialite," New Orleans told of the death of "Booster" Williams, New Roads, La., May 22. A white informant told of the lynching of Willie Keys near Mansfield, La., a few days prior to June 10.

Sen. Barkley, who is pushing the conscription bill, told the NAACP he does not intend to bring up the anti-lynching bill in this session of Congress. And the press is leaving out lynching news or reporting deaths at the hands of mobs as simple murders.

## The Canary Press

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